

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-02 INRE-00 ACDA-12 IO-14  
AF-10 /083 W  
-----008114 100952Z /47

O 091613Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
INFO USICA WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4015

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 2286

WH FOR JODY POWELL; ICA FOR PGM/RC

E.O. 11652: N/A  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S ANNAPOLIS SPEECH

REF: JUNE 9 TELCON FM PGM/RC/HAUGER, STOCKHOLM 2245

FULL TEXT DAGENS NYHETER EDITORIAL, JUNE 8, 1978 FOLLOWS:

TIME FOR DETENTE. IF THE SOVIET UNION WANTS DETENTE, THE  
USA IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE. THIS IS A CENTRAL  
THOUGHT IN THE SPEECH WHICH US PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER  
HELD ON WEDNESDAY TO LAY DOWN HIS VIEWS IN PRECISE TERMS  
ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SUPER POWERS.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S SPEECH FOLLOWS A SERIES OF  
AMERICAN DEMONSTRATIONS OF BEING WORRIED OVER THE  
SOVIET UNION'S GREAT ARMAMENTS AND DISPLEASURE WITH  
SOVIET MILITARY POLICIES IN AFRICA. MANY HAVE ALREADY  
BEGAN SPECULATING ON THE RISKS FOR A CHANGE OF MOODS  
WHICH COULD CREATE DEAD-LOCKS IN BOTH SUPER POWER  
CAMPS. AT THE SAME TIME THERE HAS BEEN REASON TO  
PONDER OVER THE CONTRADICTIONARY TRAITS IN AMERICAN  
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POLICIES.

THE FIRST IMPRESSION OF CARTER'S SPEECH IS THAT THE  
PRESIDENT IS TRYING TO DAMPEN THE IMPRESSION THAT  
THE SUPER POWER RELATIONS ARE GETTING CLOSE TO A REAL  
CRISIS. TO THE CONTRARY, NO DOORS ARE SLAMMED SHUT.  
IF ONE WANTS TO PUT IT THAT WAY, THERE IS MUCH LESS

OF "HAWK" BRZEZINSKI THAN OF "DOVES" VANCE AND YOUNG  
IN THIS SPEECH.

THIS IS NOT SO STRANGE. CARTER SAYS THAT HIS SPEECH  
IS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE SOVIET  
UNION. BUT THERE IS ALSO A THIRD POWER FACTOR. PUBLIC  
OPINION IN THE WEST.

AS STRONG AS THE IRRITATION IS IN PRIMARILY THE US  
ITSELF OVER SOVIET POLICIES--CONSIDERED BY MANY TO BE  
BOTH PROVOCATIVE AND ADVENTUROUS--IT IS EASY FOR AN  
AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO TAKE A TOUGH ATTITUDE AND  
SPEAK IN A ROUGH LANGUAGE TO THE LEADERS OF THE  
OTHER SUPER POWER. BUT AT THE SAME TIME THERE IS,  
AS FAR AS ONE CAN SEE, A STRONG WISH AMONG AMERICANS  
NOT TO BE DRAWN INTO NEW PROBLEMS OF THE VIETNAM  
TYPE. THE RUMORS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION CONSIDERED  
SUPPORTING THE OPPONENTS OF THE ANGOLA REGIME, UNITA,  
HAS AWAKENED A LOT OF OLD WORRY. MANY ARE WATCHFUL  
WHEN THE PRESIDENT LETS AMERICAN PLANES BRING AID  
AND SOLDIERS FROM OTHER NATIONS TO ZAIRE. THE NATO  
MEETING, FINALLY, ALSO DEMONSTRATED THAT THE US  
ALLIES WANT A MORE CAREFUL POLICY THAN WHAT WAS  
INTIMATED IN THE NUMBER OF AMERICAN DEMONSTRATIONS.

PERHAPS CARTER HAD TO EXPRESS HIMSELF SOMEWHAT  
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DIFFERENTLY FROM WHAT HE ORIGINALLY INTENDED.

ANYHOW, THE RESULT WAS CARTER'S PERHAPS MOST WELL  
CONSIDERED AND SKILLFULLY DESIGNED SPEECH. IN EFFECT,  
HE DIRECTS HIMSELF TO BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND  
DOMESTIC OPINION THE WHOLE TIME. IN A WAY ONE IS NOT  
USED TO, THIS AMERICAN PRESIDENT BEGINS HIS SPEECH  
WITH A PSYCHOLOGICALLY WELL-CONSIDERED REFERENCE  
TO THE BROTHERHOOD IN ARMS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST  
AGAINST NAZISM DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR. HE TALKS  
ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION'S 20 MILLION DEAD. HE CLAIMS  
TO BE CONVINCED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WANTS PEACE.  
HE ASSERTS THAT BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE  
U.S. NEGOTIATE ON DISARMAMENT "IN GOOD FAITH". HE DOES NOT  
BELIEVE THAT BRESHNEV WANTS TO RUIN DETENTE. BETWEEN THESE  
KINDNESSES, CARTER GIVES A VERY HARD-HANDED REVIEW OF THE  
SOVIET UNION SYSTEM. WITH ITS MORAL AND ECONOMIC SHORT-  
COMINGS IT IS ON ITS WAY BACKWARDS IN THE WORLD, HE  
THINKS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, ONE HERE FINDS A  
REFERENCE TO THE LIBERATION OF EURO-COMMUNISM FROM  
THE SOVIET UNION.

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 2286

WH FOR JODY POWELL; ICA FOR PGM/RC

BUT ABOVE ALL, CARTER TRIES TO ACHIEVE A DRAMATIC  
CONTRAST BY LINGERING ON THE EVIDENT ADVANTAGES  
OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. CARTER USUALLY  
TAKES CARE TO INCLUDE SELF-CRITICISM. BUT THIS TIME  
THERE IS NONE WHEN HE DESCRIBES THE U.S. BUT  
THEN THE INTENTION IS TO DISARM THE CRITICS AT  
HOME WITH A RHETORIC FITTING THE NEW SATISFACTION  
OBSERVERS NOW CLAIM TO SEE IN THE U.S.

AMERICA HAS NOTHING TO FEAR FROM THE SOVIET UNION--  
THAT IS THE MESSAGE THAT CARTER HOPES WILL GIVE HIM  
A LITTLE FREER HAND IN HIS OWN CAMP ON HOW TO HANDLE  
HIS OPPONENTS. HE PLAYS DOWN THE SOVIET MILITARY  
THREAT IN A REMARKABLY DECISIVE WAY. WITH A  
CHARACTERISTIC CARTER TECHNOCRAT WORDING HE ADDS  
THAT CORRECT ANALYSES ARE NECESSARY TO BE ABLE TO  
MAKE DECISIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

AS CONCERNS TODAY'S MOST SENSITIVE QUESTION--THE  
SOVIET UNION'S AFRICA POLICY--CARTER DOES NOT,  
HOWEVER, DARE TO GO AS FAR AS SOME AMERICAN  
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OBSERVERS, AMONG THEM ANDREW YOUNG, WHO THINK THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL GOOF IF THEY ARE LEFT ALONE. CARTER CRITICIZES THE SOVIET UNION FOR WANTING TO GAIN ADVANTAGES AND GREATER INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD WITH MILITARY POWER AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE. AS HE HAS POINTED OUT HIMSELF, THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT HAVE VERY MUCH TO OFFER IN ADDITION TO ITS MILITARY PRESTIGE. BUT THE INDIGNATION SOUNDS A LITTLE FALSE THIS SOON AFTER THE DISCLOSURES OF HOW THE U.S. WITH A CIA OPERATION REALLY BEGAN THE GLOBAL INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA'S AFFAIRS.

BUT AS CONCERNS AFRICA, CARTER NOW MAKES A WISE AND OBLIGATING PROMISE TO SUPPORT THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, OAU. HE TALKS ABOUT FACING THE PROBLEMS IN AFRICA WITH CONSIDERATION GIVEN TO AFRICAN REALITY AND WISHES. THIS SHOULD BE SEEN AS A PROMISE NOT TO APPLY THE USUAL OLD SUPER POWER PERSPECTIVE; HENRY KISSINGER WOULD PROBABLY HAVE CHOSEN OTHER WORDS. CARTER ALSO JUST REFUSED TO AGREE TO THE FRENCH PLAN FOR A SPECIAL PEACE-KEEPING FORCE. THE U.S. DECLARED THAT THAT IS A MATTER FOR THE OAU.

BEHIND THE CAREFUL AMERICAN POLICY IS STILL THE HOPE TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIA QUESTION WITH AFRICAN SUPPORT. THEN ONE HAS TO BE CAREFUL NOT TO TAKE A NEO-COLONIAL LINE.

THERE IS A RISK THAT CARTER'S EXPLICIT DESIRE FOR CONTINUED DETENTE WILL BE INTERPRETED AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS. BUT IN SEVERAL SECTIONS OF CARTER'S SPEECH THERE IS A MATTER-OF-FACT PUNCH  
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IN THE DESCRIPTION OF THE DIVISION OF STRENGTH BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, SOMETHING ONE MUST BE WELL AWARE OF IN THE SOVIET UNION. NEITHER IS DETENTE WORDS ON A PIECE OF PAPER. IT IS ABOVE ALL, A QUESTION OF THE STATES' BEHAVIOR AND THEIR CREDIBILITY IN PUBLIC OPINION.  
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## Message Attributes

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